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LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE[1]

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000 ONE of the most painful lessons mankind has learned since the rise of nationalism in the last hundred years is that language diversity fosters conflicts between states and among peoples living within one state but speaking different languages. Conversely, language uniformity makes for unity. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries most governments have strongly desired such uniformity. In some countries, as in America, assimilation into one language has been achieved by allowing national groups the free use of their native languages, and by relying upon the advance of education and of commercial and industrial development to break down the barriers those languages erect between various linguistic groups. In the period before the First World War, many governments sought language uniformity by forcibly repressing the languages of minorities, by Germanizing, Magyarizing, Russifying their national minority groups. Of no government was this more true than of that of the old Russian Empire, in which the "minorities" — that is, the groups other than the Great-Russians — constituted over half the population. But by attempting to suppress the languages of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Tatars and so on, the Tsarist régime did not achieve its goal of unity; rather, it aroused a host of nationalist movements which put language repression first on the bill of grievances against the government and which helped drive Tsarism to its death.

Lenin believed that the Tsarist method defeated its own ends and that the goal of unity had to be approached by other paths. First of all, literacy would have to precede any attempt to obtain language uniformity: as long as none other than oral means of communication existed between the minorities and the Russians, the Russian language could not really permeate the minorities and break down their national horizons. Literacy, of course, could be most easily reached by universal education in the minority languages themselves. Then, once the art of reading was mastered and great cultural vistas were opened to the minorities, they would be in a position to go ahead and adopt Russian as a second language. The Russian language would appeal to them because it is the language of a stronger culture than

[1] This study is based on material gathered for a book on the policy of the Soviet Union with regard to national minorities. The book is being written under a grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and it is being sponsored by Professors Carlton J. H. Hayes and Geroid Tanquary Robinson of Columbia University.

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those the minorities possessed; and the necessity for knowing Russian would be heightened by drawing the minorities into the industrial, commercial and political life of the country as a whole. Meanwhile, literacy in the minority languages would facilitate the spread of communist doctrines stressing the international solidarity of the working-class against capitalism. To achieve unity while allowing the free use of minority languages might be the long — and perhaps very dangerous — way around, but Lenin believed it would be the only effective way in a backward, heterogeneous country like Russia.

The Soviet leaders were so certain that eventual lingustic uniformity could be attained only through temporary diversity that they went further in emphasizing minority languages than any state has ever gone: they made vigorous attempts to foster the actual use of the minority languages, to "nationalize" (i.e., "Ukrainize," "Armenianize," "Tartarize") political organizations, administrative apparatus, factory managements, trade-unions, military units, newspapers, books, theatres and schools, among the minorities. In their desire to retreat from the old Imperial policy of Russification, they leaned over so far backward that they introduced the element of compulsion in the opposite direction: they forced the national minorities and the Russians living among them to use the local languages in political, economic and cultural life, stopping short only at the threshold of the individual's private world. The ultimate effect of this policy upon the increase or decrease of nationalism among the minorities is not yet apparent, and the fate of such nationalism may hinge upon such factors as economic prosperity, political liberty and developments in the field of international relations; but the process of nationalizing the political, economic and cultural life of the minorities is an experiment which deserves more attention from the non-Soviet political and scholarly world than it has received.

In the field of education, the Soviet régime has followed a four-fold policy: first to establish a school system embracing all children; secondly, to promote the spread of communist doctrines by integrating them into the curriculum; thirdly, to nationalize the school system by introducing the languages of the minorities as the languages of instruction in schools attended by children of the minorities; and, fourthly, to pave the way for eventual assimilation by providing for the study of Russian as a separate subject in the schools of the minorities. The first two aspects of this policy are complex subjects, each of which deserves a separate study. The present discussion will therefore treat only of the linguistic phases of the Soviet educational policy: the nationalization of education — that is, the use of minority

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languages as the media of instruction; and the study of Russian as a separate subject.

In setting out to nationalize education, the Soviet régime has encountered many obstacles: Russian nationalists — and there were some even among the Communists — opposed the policy; text-books and teachers were scarce; and the more backward minorities did not even possess a written language of their own. As the exigencies of space prevent the investigation of all the problems encountered in the nationalization of education, this study will be limited to examining the policy as applied in the Ukraine; that is, to the Ukrainians and to the other minorities — Poles, Jews, Germans and others — living among them. The Ukrainians, it may be noted, are the largest minority in the Soviet Union; they are the most significant from the point of view of current international relations; and the difficulties encountered by the nationalization policy in the Ukraine were sufficiently complex to provide some insight into the policy as a whole.

Among the Ukrainians, as among the other minorities, the nationalization of education has stemmed from the program on the national question which Lenin formulated before the overthrow of the Tsarist régime. This program, intended to overcome minority nationalism, had to assign a conspicuous place to the language question. To many Ukrainians the treatment of their language by the Imperial government appeared even more onerous than the political oppression which was meted out to Russians and Ukrainians alike. The Ukrainian language was regarded by the government as an uncouth dialect of the Russian language; it was harried from the schools; and it was badgered throughout the literary, scholarly and theatrical worlds. The resulting Ukrainian nationalism, Lenin believed, was a threat to the international unity of the Ukrainian and Russian masses, a unity he regarded as essential for the achievement of socialism; and this Ukrainian nationalism would have to be met with the promise of linguistic equality for the Ukrainians and for all other nationalities. This conception was written into the program on the national question adopted by the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1913, a program which was first intended to apply to a period of "capitalist democracy" but was retained after the establishment of the Soviet government in 1917. The first point in the program stated: "Insofar as national peace is possible in a capitalist society, which is based on exploitation, profits and wrangling, such peace is obtainable only by means of a thoroughly, consistently democratic, republican governmental structure, guaranteeing complete equality to all nations and languages, and by the inclusion in the con-

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stitution of a basic law nullifying every kind of privilege of one nation and every kind of violation of the right of the national minorities."[2]

While defending this point in the program, Lenin explained that he did not desire to turn Russia into a "Babelesque confusion" in which one national group could not communicate with another; and he thought that sooner or later the minorities of Russia would become assimilated, probably through adopting the Russian language he cherished so highly and which he expected would be taught as a subject in the schools.[3] However, Lenin argued, such assimilation could be achieved not by compulsion, not by the Tsarist method of repression, but by the natural process of commercial and industrial development and intercourse. To force the minorities to study the Russian language by "the use of the stick" merely estranged them and turned them against that language. If, on the other hand, the minorities were allowed to use their own language in education, they would willingly accept the study of Russian also and would, as in America, voluntarily use it because of its advantage in economic intercourse. Hence, wherever minorities lived compactly, their languages would be used as the medium of instruction in the schools; and where members of minorities were isolated among other nationalities, they would be given the opportunity to study the language of their nationality.

Although the Provisional Government, ushered in by the February Revolution in 1917, intended to alter the policy of Russification and proclaimed linguistic freedom for the minorities, it did not succeed in overcoming the hostility of the minority nationalists who were then rapidly extending their influence among the peasantry. The Provisional Government, for example, wrangled with the Ukrainian nationalists not only on the question of political autonomy, but also on the expediency of Ukrainizing some of the army units; and in the Ukraine itself the former Tsarist officials remaining at their posts obstructed the Ukrainization of the school system. As the discontent of the peasantry with the land policy of the Provisional Government fed the flames of Ukrainian nationalism, Lenin was more than ever resolved to overcome minority hostility by, among other things, establishing linguistic equality.

After the October Revolution had put the Bolsheviks in control, the Soviet régime introduced into the schools the policy of national

[2] *VKP(b) v Rezoljucijach i Rešenijach S'ezdov, Konferencii i Plenumov Ts.K., 1898–1932* (Moscow, 1933), I, 238–240.

[3] For the views of Lenin contained in this paragraph, see Lenin, V. I., *Sočinenija* (Moscow, 1935), XVI, pp. 509, 551–554, 595–596; XVII, pp. 66, 89, 114–115, 133, 139–154, 178–181, 361.

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languages as the medium of instruction. Lenin stigmatized as "Great-Russian Chauvinists," those people in the Commissariat of Education who favored teaching only in the Russian language; and referring specifically to the Ukrainians in a resolution he wrote for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he stated that if the Bolsheviks wanted to overcome the hostility of the Ukrainian peasants (a hostility quite clearly evident during the Civil War from 1918 to 1920), the Ukrainian language could not be pushed into the background of either educational or political life.[4] Stalin argued that education in the minority languages would facilitate the raising of the cultural level of the minorities to that of the Russians and would thereby forge bonds of union between them.[5] The educational policy for the minorities, he stated, must have it as its aim: "to develop national culture; to build up a wide network of courses and schools for both general education and vocational and technical training, teaching in the native languages, for the purpose of training Soviet, party, trade-union and economic cadres from among the native people."[6] These views of Lenin and Stalin were incorporated into party resolutions, adopted in the decade after 1919, on education and on national policy generally.[7]

It was, of course, much easier to make speeches and pass resolutions than to realize the aims set forth therein. Even in the relatively advanced Ukraine it promised to be very difficult to establish a "wide network" of schools giving instruction in the national languages. The heritage of buildings, school supplies and qualified teachers bequeathed by Tsarism was meager in comparison with the needs of a régime aspiring to universal education: in the Kiev Educational District, for example, only twenty-two of every thousand people attended school in 1913.[8] Educational facilities, moreover, were reduced by the disastrous Civil War, during which constant fighting, famine, typhus, cholera, economic collapse and bankruptcy levied a high tax on the educational system; and the lack of funds and personnel long hampered its recuperation.[9] By 1924 the system approached its status

[4] *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 155, 552–554.

[5] J. Stalin, *Stati i Reči ob Ukraine* (Kiev, 1936), pp. 111–112, 194–195.

[6] J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York, 1935), p. 208.

[7] *VKP(b) v Rezoljucijach . . .* I, pp. 155, 637.

[8] The Kiev Educational District comprised the provinces of Kiev, Poltava, Podolia, Volhynia and Chernigov. The number of pupils is from Ministerstvo Narodnogo Prosvieshcheniia, *Vsepodanneiši Otčet, 1912* (St. Petersburg, 1915), p. 196. The estimate of the population is from Centralny Statističeski Komitet, *Ežegodnik Rossii, 1912* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 33–59.

[9] For the condition of the educational system up to 1924, see *Urkainska Socialistična Radianska Respublika. Zbirnik Spravozdan Narodnich Komisarijativ i centralnich ustanov U.S.R.R. ta Upolnivaženich Narodnich Komisarijativ R.S.F.S.R. 5-mu Vseukrainskomu Z'izdovi Rad Ukraini. Otčet Narodnogo Komisariati Osviti U.S.R.R. za 1920 rik* (*Kharkov*,

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under Tsarism, but a long road had to be travelled before all children would have an opportunity to attend schools. Buildings would have to be constructed, teachers trained, text-books written and published. The Ukrainian government first endeavored to provide "elementary" or four-year schools for all children from eight to twelve years of age, then to expand these schools into "incomplete middle" or seven-year schools, and finally to replace these with "complete middle" or ten-year schools; and, in the meanwhile, the government established technical schools and higher educational institutions to train engineers, doctors, actors and other types of "socialist cadres." This quantitative growth of the school system was matched by its growth qualitatively, as measured from the point of view of the language policy. In spite of the shortages of teachers knowing Ukrainian and the languages of the other minorities, the almost complete absence of text-books in these languages, and the appearance of considerable opposition on the part of political leaders, of teachers and even of parents, the Russian language was gradually replaced as the medium of instruction by the other languages.

As early as March 1919 an order of the Commissariat of Education of the newly re-established Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic declared that the Russification policy was abrogated; that the Commissariat would aid in the development of the long-repressed Ukrainian language; and that "in view of the elimination of a governmental language as such, and of the declaration that all local languages are equal, the Commissariat of Education gives the local population the right to determine in which language teaching must be carried on in the schools, safeguarding simultaneously the interests of [other] national groups."[10] Wherever the language of instruction remained Russian, a second language — also chosen by the local population itself — was to be taught as a special subject. In September 1920 this provisional order was strengthened by a law of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. The law instructed the Commissariat of Education to draw up a plan for schools of all grades and categories with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.[11] Ukrainian was to be studied as an obligatory subject in all teacher-training institutions and was to be used as the language of instruction in some of them. The law also ordered the Government Publishing House to issue "a sufficient quantity of text-books as well as *belles-lettres* and other publications in the Ukrainian language."

1921), pp. 3–6; *Zbirnik Uzakonen ta Rosporiadžen Robitničo-Seljanskogo Urjady Ukraini za 1924 rik*, 1924, part 1, sec. 271, pp. 800–803; Sojuz Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R., *Pjatyssesojuznyi S'ezd Sojuza Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R. Stenografičeski Otčet* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 172–174.

[10] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1919, sec. 260, p. 347.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1920, part 1, sec. 509, pp. 712–713.

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During 1923 and 1924 several laws designed to provide elementary education for all children specified that this education was to be conducted in Ukrainian where that nationality predominated, and in the languages of the "national minorities" (minorities within the Ukrainian nationality — Poles, Germans, Jews, Czechs and so forth) wherever these minorities formed compact groups.[12] The laws outlined a series of practical measures to make this rule effective: teachers knowing Ukrainian were to be assigned to schools in which they were needed; text-books and other reading materials in Ukrainian were to be increased; pedagogical schools and courses were to be transferred to Ukrainian; pedagogical journals were to be Ukrainized; and all classes for teaching illiterates and semi-literates, except those for the non-Ukrainian minorities, were to be conducted in Ukrainian. Provision was also made for the obligatory study of Ukrainian as a separate subject in all schools being conducted in other languages.

These laws gave impetus to the process of Ukrainizing the "general" (elementary, incomplete middle and middle) schools; and the process was aided by the presence of many nationalists who had formerly opposed the Soviet régime but who had been pardoned and put to work in the Commissariat of Education. In 1923, according to a newspaper report, 47 percent of the general schools had been Ukrainized, while plans had been made to provide the Ukrainian pupils with Ukrainian schools by 1925.[13] During the years from 1923 to 1925 the realization of these plans was proceeding most effectively in the rural areas, where the largest proportion of the Ukrainian population was to be found. In the province of Kharkov, for example, 20 percent of the general schools in the school year 1923–24 were still using Russian and 49 percent were "mixed schools" — schools using Russian in some classes and Ukrainian in others; but 69 percent of the schools in the city of Kharkov were still using Russian exclusively.[14] A picture of the manifold difficulties encountered in this transitional period was presented by the district of Krolevetski in the province of Chernigov.[15] In 1924 instruction in the elementary schools was supposed to be given in Ukrainian; but a majority of the teachers hardly knew the language, and they actually used a jumble of Ukrainian and Russian. In the middle schools the situation was worse: a majority of the teachers not only did not know Ukrainian, but considered themselves exempt from learning it because they had been former

[12] *Ibid.*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, pp. 896–899; 1924, part 1, sec. 272, p. 801; 1924, part 1, sec. 300, pp. 932–933.

[13] *Visti* (organ of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Executive Committee), Oct. 28, 1923.

[14] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1923; see also *ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1924. [15] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1924.

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teachers in the gymnasium and therefore possessed "higher qualifications"; and these teachers showed "active or passive resistance" to Ukrainization. In this district, as in many others, the complaint was made that the schools lacked Ukrainian text-books and other such reading materials.[16]

These difficulties were gradually being overcome. By 1924 the publication of text-books and children's literature in Russian had almost ceased in the Ukraine, and the publishing houses were concentrating on Ukrainian materials.[17] Ukrainian was being taught in all pedagogical schools and teacher-training courses.[18] The results of this step were apparent in 1925. In Chernigov province, for example, 67 percent of the teachers had mastered Ukrainian, and the proportion of Ukrainian schools — which then stood at 54 percent — was being raised as rapidly as the teachers who had recently learned Ukrainian could be transferred to the districts where they were needed.[19]

During 1925 and 1926 the whole process of Ukrainization was raised to the status of a "high-pressure (*udarnaja*) campaign." Attention was directed even to the *crèches* because, as one writer explained, the early years of a child's life are of the utmost significance in his linguistic development.[20] But a report from Chernigov in 1926 stated that the teachers were agitating among the peasantry against the Ukrainization of the schools; they were "striving with all their forces to discredit the Ukrainian language, to arouse the peasants to adopt resolutions against Ukrainizing the schools, and so on."[21] This was denied by the school officials in the region from which the report emanated,[22] but similar items of news came from other regions. One writer cited a specific teacher in the Don Basin: although she was supposed to teach the Ukrainian language as a separate subject, she could hardly speak it and she referred to it as "a terribly ugly and crude language."[23] Another reporter, again from Chernigov, produced evidence to illustrate the hostility of both parents and teachers: because of this hostility a region with an overwhelmingly Ukrainian population contained thirty-five Russian schools, one Ukrainian and one mixed school.[24]

[16] See *ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1924, Mar. 5, 1924.
[17] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1924. [18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1923.
[19] *Kommunist* (organ of the Central Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine), Mar. 21, 1925.
[20] *Proletarska Pravda* (organ of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine, of the Kiev Regional Executive Committee and of the Kiev Regional Trade-Union Council), Aug. 26, 1926.
[21] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926. [22] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1926.
[23] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1926. [24] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926.

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871 191 656 However, the Ukrainization of education slowly approached its goal. It is impossible to determine the actual number of Ukrainian children studying in Ukrainian schools, for the school statistics contained only the total number of children studying in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and other schools; and while some Ukrainian children studied in non-Ukrainian schools, many non-Ukrainian children studied in Ukrainian schools. However, an approximate idea of the extent of Ukrainization can be gained by comparing the proportion of school children in Ukrainian schools with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. According to the school census of December, 1927, ten years after the Bolshevik Revolution, 75.8 percent of all pupils in elementary schools were in schools conducted entirely in Ukrainian; 6.9 percent were in schools in which some classes were conducted in Ukrainian and some in other languages; and 10.6 per cent were in Russian schools.[25] As the Ukrainians in 1927 were estimated at 80.1 percent of the total population and the Russians at 9.2 percent, the elementary schools might be considered to be nearing the goal of Ukrainization. The seven-year schools, then the predominant type of middle schools, lagged behind the elementary schools because they were relatively more numerous in the Russianized cities; of the pupils in these schools, 60.7 per cent were in Ukrainian schools, 14.7 percent in mixed schools and 15.5 per cent in Russian schools.

In some places, particularly in some cities, the Ukrainization policy overshot its mark. Whereas the Ukrainian population of Kiev was estimated at 41.1 percent of the total population in 1927, 49.8 percent of its school children were attending Ukrainian schools, 5.9 percent mixed schools and 30.6 percent Russian schools.[26] The proportion of pupils in Ukrainian schools was also greater than the proportion of the Ukrainian population in Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk. This situation, as shall be noted below, was regarded unfavorably by some writers in the newspapers, but the charges of "over-Ukrainization" received little attention from the government until after 1933. During the period from 1923 to 1933 the government was concentrating its efforts upon suppressing Russian nationalism and upon providing the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nationalities with schools conducted in their own languages.

874 191 656 In this period much attention was also given to the Ukrainization of technical and higher educational institutions, but in these institutions the lack of teachers knowing Ukrainian, of text-books and of good-will was an even greater handicap than in the Ukrainization of

[25] *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini na 15 Grudnja 1927 (Peperedni Pidsumki Shilnogo Perepisy)*, Kharkov, 1928, pp. 20–21. [26] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

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the general schools. As early as 1923 the government ordered the gradual Ukrainization of various technical schools ("technicums," "workers' faculties," etc.) and of higher educational institutions (medical, art, pedagogical, engineering and other "institutes").[27] Vacancies in their teaching and administrative staffs were to be filled preferably with people knowing Ukrainian; some courses were to be conducted in Ukrainian immediately; all students were obliged to study Ukrainian history, literature, economic geography and language; Ukrainian dictionaries and lists of Ukrainian equivalents for Russian scientific terms were to be issued in order to hasten Ukrainization. After the promulgation of this law the process of Ukrainizing technical and higher educational institutions proceeded under the constant prodding of the Commissariat of Education;[28] but by the summer of 1926 only a small proportion of these schools were considered fully Ukrainized, the chief obstacle being that the faculties did not know Ukrainian: in Odessa and Kharkov, for example, only six percent of the professors in the higher educational institutions had mastered that language.[29] At this time the Central Committee of the Party stepped into the picture and ordered an intensification of efforts to Ukrainize these institutions.[30]

A lively flurry of activity to bring the technical and higher schools into line followed the Central Committee's directive, which was passed along by the local committees.[31] The Commissariat of Education ordered the Ukrainization of all technical schools, except those serving national minorities, by the beginning of the school year 1927–28.[32] The Scientific-Pedagogical Society of the Ukrainian Academy of Science held a series of conferences to improve the teaching of the Ukrainian language, literature and history; to work out and distribute lists of Ukrainian scientific terms; and to establish Ukrainization courses for faculty members.[33] Finally, the Ukrainian government took a long step toward the Ukrainization of these schools when its basic statute on education, adopted in 1927, formulated a series of definite rules pertaining to technical and higher schools.[34] All students entering these institutions were to be examined in their knowledge, unless they had graduated from Ukrainian middle schools. Professors, other teachers and scientific workers were to possess a knowledge of Ukrainian equivalent to that demanded of government officials, and

[27] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, pp. 896–897.
[28] E.g. *Kommunist*, Mar. 6, 1925; Mar. 20, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, July 6, 1926.
[29] *Proletarska Pravda*, July 6, 1926. [30] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1926.
[31] This was done, for example, by the Kiev Regional Committee of the Party.—*Ibid.*, July 15, 1926. [32] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1926. [33] *Ibid.*, July 4, 1926, July 22, 1926.
[34] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1927, part 1, sec. 157, pp. 626–628.

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no professor or other teacher could be appointed unless he could conduct his courses in Ukrainian.[35] Institutions for scientific research and for preparing research workers, including the universities, were to be conducted in Ukrainian; and candidates for degrees in such institutions were not to be accepted until they had passed an examination in that language.

Progress in Ukrainizing the technical and higher educational institutions was indicated by the school census of 1927. The Ukrainian language was used for instruction in educational establishments embracing 14.2 percent of the students in the higher institutes, 33.7 percent of the students in the technicums and 47.4 percent of those in other types of technical schools.[36] Although the actually Ukrainized institutes and technicums were not numerous, many of the others were then undergoing Ukrainization. Establishments using both Ukrainian and Russian contained 74.8 percent of the students in the institutes, 43.7 percent of those in the technicums and 33.3 percent of those in other types of technical schools. Only 7.1 percent of the students in the institutes, 17.7 percent of those in the technicums and 13.7 percent in other technical schools still studied exclusively in Russian.[37]

After 1927 the process of Ukrainization proceeded steadily, but in 1929 the Party and the government still regarded the condition of the higher and technical schools pessimistically. Kossior, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, stated that a considerable part of the teachers and professors in these institutions were hostile to Ukrainization;[38] and newspaper reports bore him out. In Odessa, for example, Professors Tolstoi and Demetz refused to teach in Ukrainian and considered that all lecturers who did so were "renegades."[39] In 1929 the Commissariat of Education was forced to rule that all students intending to graduate from higher educational institutions would first have to pass an examination in the Ukrainian language equivalent to that demanded of government officials.[40]

[35] Only students and professors coming to the Ukraine from other republics were to be permitted additional time to fulfill the requirements.

[36] *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48–51. In this period technicums were classified with higher educational institutions rather than with other types of technical or "professional" schools, which were in turn classified as middle schools. The other technical schools included "workers' faculties," "workers' evening professional schools," "schools of the working youth," "long-term courses," "schools of brigade apprenticeship," and "trade-union schools."

[37] This data was given in a speech by Kossior, published in *Proletari* (organ of the central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine and of the All-Ukrainian Council of Trade-Unions), July 17, 1930. [38] *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1929.

[39] *Komsomolec Ukraini* (organ of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Union of the Youth of the Ukraine), Mar. 16, 1929. [40] *Proletari*, Apr. 25, 1919.

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At this time, when the whole problem of Ukrainizing the highly Russianized Don Basin and other industrial regions in the Ukraine was being attacked, the failure to Ukrainize the school system was frequently mentioned.[41] Even a directive of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, in January 1930, stated that in the industrial regions only the schools for general education and for extirpating illiteracy had been Ukrainized; and the directive ordered the Commissariat of Education to examine the faculty members of the technical and higher schools on their knowledge of Ukrainian, and to take steps to insure that these people possessed such a knowledge.[42]

During 1930 and 1931 the reports on the Ukrainization of technical and higher schools were limited largely to items of "self-criticism" which pointed out obstacles or found fault with specific institutions and individuals. The professors in the Medical Institute in Kharkov now knew Ukrainian, but the process of Ukrainization was being retarded by the lack of Ukrainian text-books.[43] In the Lisenko Theatrical Institute in Kiev the classes were conducted in Ukrainian, but the reporter complained that extra-class work was still being carried on in Russian.[44] An investigation of the Institute of Consumer Coöperation and of the Veterinary Institute revealed that the majority of the students still spoke Russian among themselves and that two professors of the former institution refused to instruct their classes in Ukrainian.[45] Both professors and students in the Construction Institute and the Chemical Institute were reported to be hostile to the use of Ukrainian: one of the professors had been discharged for this reason, and the students had declared Ukrainization to be proper only for the middle schools. Because the library lacked Ukrainian books and only three of the hundred and twenty-two journals received were in Ukrainian, the administration of the Chemical Institute was upbraided for opposition to Ukrainization.[46] The Textile and Mining Institutes were also cited as examples of the failure to Ukrainize properly.[47]

The years up to 1933 constituted the high-pressure period of Ukrainization; after 1933 the government concentrated its attention chiefly upon suppressing the tendency to "over-Ukrainize," where such a tendency was discernible, and upon rectifying the results of this tendency which had already appeared. This was not a new pol-

[41] E. g., *Komsomolec Ukraini*, May 16, 1929, June 26, 1929.
[42] *Proletari*, Jan. 3, 1930. [43] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1930.
[44] *Proletarska Pravda*, Sept. 22, 1931. [45] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1931.
[46] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1931. [47] *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1931.

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icy; it was, rather, a change of emphasis from one part of the linguistic policy to another. Ukrainian schools for Ukrainian children remained, but now the stress was placed upon schools for the national minorities within the Ukrainian majority, and particularly for the Russian inhabitants of the Ukraine.

The Ukrainization of education, it has been noted, was not intended to apply to schools in areas where there were members of non-Ukrainian nationalities living compactly. On the contrary, the educational policy anticipated that every child should have an opportunity to study in his or her mother tongue. This was stated in all of the important legislation on the languages in the school system, beginning with the preliminary order of the Commissariat of Education in 1919.[48] A law of 1924 had altered the rule on the required size of classes, in order to facilitate the establishment of small schools serving scattered groups of the minority peoples.[49] Other laws and directives in the period from 1924 to 1928 contained clauses ordering increased funds for general and technical education for the minorities, the preparation of teachers for their schools and the publication of textbooks in their languages.[50] Steps were frequently taken by the Commissariat of Education to expand the network of schools serving these peoples.[51] The Commissariat contained a special Council of National Minorities, consisting of Jewish, Latvian, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Czech and Moldavian bureaus; and the provincial departments of education had inspectors for minority education, sometimes separate inspectors for German, Jewish, Polish or Czech schools.[52] Finally, the Communist Party itself, through its directives and the speeches of its leaders in the period from 1924 to 1928, constantly warned that during the process of Ukrainization the interests of the minorities were to be protected.[53]

Efforts to provide schools for the minorities received much publicity between 1924 and 1928. Only a few reports can be cited. In

[48] See especially *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1919, sec. 260, p. 347; 1927, part 1, sec. 157, pp. 626–627. See above pp. 129–130. [49] *Ibid.*, 1924, part 1, sec. 300, p. 933.

[50] E. g. *Visti*, Dec. 10, 1924; *Kommunist*, July 3, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, Apr. 8, 1928.

[51] E.g. *Visti*, Mar. 9, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, July 23, 1927.

[52] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1925, part 1, sec. 218, p. 587; 1925, part 1, sec. 285, p. 10; 1926, part 1, sec. 106, p. 221.

[53] E.g. the directive of the Central Committee of the Party in *Kommunist*, May 21, 1925; the resolution of the Kiev Regional Party Committee in *Proletarska Pravda*, July 15, 1926; the speech of Liubchenko (chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars) in *ibid.*, May 11, 1926; speeches of Kaganovich (secretary of the Central Committee of the Party) and of Skripnik (Commissar of Education) and the resolution of the 10th Congress of the Party in *Desjati Z'izd Kommunističnoi Partii (Bil'shikiv) Ukraini, 20–29 Listopada 1927 p. Stenografičnii zvit* (Kharkov, 1928), pp. 126, 444, 574; the resolution of the All-Ukrainian Council of Trade-Unions in *Proletarska Pravda*, Apr. 7, 1928.

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Chernigov the school assigned to the Jewish language — which in the Soviet Union means Yiddish rather than Hebrew — was using that language even before the schools for Ukrainian children were using Ukrainian.[54] A report from Kiev described a campaign undertaken to draw Polish students into the Polish Pedagogical Institute, into the Polish departments of the technical schools, and into other Polish educational units.[55] In the meanwhile, the Jewish Pedagogical Institute in Kiev was being moved into a new building provided by the Commissariat of Education, and elementary schools were being established for Czechs and Assyrians.[56] Dnepropetrovsk reported that its German school was being enlarged.[57] The city of Kharkov found it could not open a school for Koreans (!) because no teachers were available, and the Kharkov City Committee of the Party asked the Vladivostok City Committee and the Communist University of the Toiling East to supply a few Korean teachers.[58]

No evidence that Kharkov ever succeeded in opening a Korean school has come into the hands of the author; but in 1926 the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. complimented the Ukrainian Republic on its attention to the educational needs of the minorities; and the school statistics for 1927 indicated that a considerable number of children of the minorities were studying in their own languages. Of all the pupils in general (four and seven year) schools, 2.9 percent studied in Jewish schools; 1.4 percent in German schools; 0.9 percent in Polish schools and 0.8 percent in schools using other minority languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Tartar, Swedish, Greek, Assyrian and Moldavian.[59] Schools using both Ukrainian or Russian and some other language or languages embraced 2.1 percent of all the pupils. Since Jews composed 5.4 percent of the total population, Poles 1.6 percent, Germans 1.4 percent and other minorities 2.1 percent, it is evident that many of the children of the smaller nationalities went to Ukrainian or Russian schools. This fact can probably be accounted for in part by the lack of buildings and teachers, by the scattered distribution of the smaller minorities and by the indifference of the smaller nationalities themselves. The Jews, for example, have tended to assimilate into the Russian nationality in the large cities and into the Ukrainian nationality in the smaller towns and villages. The younger generation of Jews favor Russian or Ukrainian as their social language, and many Jewish parents prefer to put their

[54] *Visti*, Oct. 2, 1924.
[55] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1926.
[56] *Kommunist*, May 21, 1925.
[57] *Proletarska Pravda*, July 24, 1926.
[58] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1926.
[59] *Statistika Ukraina. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini* . . . , pp. 20–25.

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871 563 656 children into Russian or Ukrainian schools. One reporter in 1933 gave evidence to show that some Jewish parents had desired their children to attend non-Jewish schools, but that pressure had been brought to bear upon them by zealous officials to send their children to the Jewish schools newly constructed for them.[60]

As an illustration of the attitude of the children themselves, an experience of the author may be pertinent. Upon visiting a Jewish school in Kiev, he observed that some of the pupils were carrying Russian text-books; and to the enquiry as to whether no Yiddish books existed for those subjects, several pupils replied: "Oh, yes; but we like to read the Russian texts better than the Yiddish." The school happened to be located in the old Jewish section of Kiev, and undoubtedly the children were sent to this school either because they spoke Yiddish at home (but not amongst themselves) or because of the superior facilities offered by a new institution; and if they had been able to decide for themselves, it is possible that many of these children would have chosen to attend Russian or even Ukrainian [191] schools. Russian is the language of a culture stronger than the secular non-Hebrew culture conveyed by the Yiddish language in the Soviet Union; Russian is also the language spoken in Moscow and generally throughout the U.S.S.R.; and all those pupils, and parents, too, who ever expect to move freely about the Union must have complete mastery of the Russian language. What is true of the Jews is also true of the Poles, Germans, Czechs and others.

874 563 191 That the children of the minorities had to master the Russian and Ukrainian languages if they desired to continue their education on the higher levels is indicated by the nature of the technical and higher educational institutions in the Ukraine. It was impossible to set up an electrical engineering institute for a handful of Poles or Assyrians, or to establish every type of higher educational institution for the Jews. Hence, as the statistics for 1927 indicated, most of the technical and higher educational institutions taught in Ukrainian, Russian or a mixture of the two. Of the students in the lower technical schools (technical schools other than technicums) only 1.4 percent studied in Jewish schools, 0.1 percent in Polish schools, 0.3 percent in German schools, 0.1 percent in the schools of other minorities, and 3.0 percent studied in schools that had one or more of the minority languages together with either Russian or Ukrainian or both.[61] There were no institutes using exclusively the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian minority languages, although 3.9 percent of the students studied

[60] *Proletarska Pravda*, Mar. 29, 1933.

[61] *Statistika Ukraina. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 48–51.

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in institutes that conducted part of their work in Russian or Ukrainian and part in other languages. Of the students in the technicums, 1.5 percent studied in technicums using the Jewish language, 0.5 percent in those using Polish, 0.7 percent in those using German, 0.5 per cent in those using other non-Russian minority languages, and 0.5 percent in technicums using Russian or Ukrainian and one or more of the other languages. These figures do not signify that the Jewish, Polish or German children were deprived of a chance to study in technical and higher schools; on the contrary, the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian student body in these establishments, as will be noted below, was relatively larger than the Ukrainian and Russian student body.

The work of establishing schools using the languages of the smaller nationalities continued after 1927; in fact, it was given additional impetus by the campaign of 1933–35 against nationalist influences in the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education. But before examining the effects of this campaign, it is necessary to note the attitude toward Russian schools. At the core of the process of Ukrainization was the transformation of Russian into Ukrainian schools; and it was not surprising that there appeared in at least some areas a tendency to deprive the Russian-speaking population of an opportunity to study in Russian schools. This was, to be sure, not at all the intention of the government. In its decree in expanding general education, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee ordered that "special attention be directed toward assuring schools with instruction in the Russian language for all children of the Russian nationality."[62] But, as has been noted above, the proportion of pupils studying in Ukrainian schools in some places — especially in the larger cities — was greater than the proportion of Ukrainians in the population. A writer in *Proletarska Pravda* (*Proletarian Truth*) claimed in 1926 that the general schools in Kiev were being over-Ukrainized.[63] He was answered by another writer, who argued that whereas the criticism was based on an examination of the number of *schools*, there was still a larger proportion of *classes* being held in Russian than the proportion of Russians in the total population; and the second writer denounced the first for bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of the Soviet national policy.[64] The criticism was proven correct by the school statistics for 1927; but since the process of Ukrainization was in full swing and since at this time the Party considered the Russian nationalists

[62] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1926, part 1, sec. 453, p. 1246.
[63] *Proletarska Pravda*, Oct. 2, 1926. [64] *Ibid.*

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in the Ukraine more dangerous than the Ukrainian variety, no additional attention was given to the problem of Russian children.

In 1933, however, the offensive against Ukrainian nationalism occasioned a review of the Ukrainization process. Ukrainian nationalism had been considered a dangerous force since 1926, when Shumskii and Khvilovoi — two important figures in the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education — were censured for desiring "to orient Ukrainian culture on capitalist Europe rather than on socialist Moscow." The Party became still more alert to signs of nationalism after the uncovering in 1929 of the Society for the Emancipation of the Ukraine, a secret organization headed by such outstanding nationalists as Efremov, Germaize and Nikovskii. But it was the campaign against the collectivization of agriculture which occasioned the intensive campaign against the nationalists. The Party regarded the opposition to collectivization as the result in large part of the nationalists, and it set out to remove them from every branch of political, economic and cultural activity. The central figure in the campaign was Nicholas Skripnik, an "Old Bolshevik" who was accused of having fallen under the influence of his nationalist colleagues and was removed from his position as Commissar of Education in March 1933. Even before his removal, however, the Commissariat of Education and all of its activities were under fire.

Charges of over-Ukrainization of the school system were first launched in an editorial appearing in *Kommunist* (the organ of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party) in February 1933, and reprinted in other newspapers. The editorial said: "The mistakes and perversions in realizing the Ukrainization of the schools led in a considerable number of places to neglecting and ignoring the interests of the national minorities and especially the needs and requirements of the Russian toiling masses living in the Ukraine. Among responsible circles of the Commissariat there was concocted the 'theory' that the majority of the children in the cities, small towns and other labor centers speak a mixed Ukrainian-Russian jargon, and that therefore the majority of these children should study in the Ukrainian language. As a result, a significant part of the Russian toiling masses were deprived of schools in their native language and actually subjected to the forced Ukrainization which the Party had condemned in all of its directives."[65] Shortly after this editorial appeared, an article in *Proletarska Pravda* stated that in Kiev only 49 percent of the Russian children and 30 percent of the Jewish children studied in schools conducted in their native languages; that although

[65] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1933.

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some of the others studied in mixed Ukrainian-Russian or Ukrainian-Jewish schools, they were "mechanically transferred" after the first four years to classes using Ukrainian.[66]

Zatonski, who replaced Skripnik as Commissar of Education, stated that the Ukrainization of Russian children had taken place in Kharkov and in the Don Basin as well as in Kiev; and he pointed to Krasnolutzki District, where the number of Russian schools had dropped from twenty in 1930 to twelve in 1932.[67] He also declared that in Kherson and Makiivitz there were no Russian elementary schools at all; and that in some places there had been a voluntary Ukrainization of Russian children because the buildings and equipment provided for the Russian schools were greatly inferior to those of the Ukrainian schools.[68] Additional evidence was forthcoming in 1934 and 1935 to show some enforced Ukrainization of Polish children and of those of other minorities, as well as of some of the Russian children; and this situation was denounced as an example of "deliberate nationalist wrecking."[69]

This campaign against over-Ukrainization, however, was not intended to lead to a revival of the Russification policy. Kossior, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was adamant on this point. He explained in 1933 that the results of over-Ukrainization would have to be eliminated because this was demanded by internationalism, "by the brotherly interests of the toilers of all the nationalities in the Ukraine."[70] But, he went on, the Russian nationalists would not be allowed to take advantage of mistakes already committed in order to reverse the policy of Ukrainization; on the contrary, there would be a further drive for "Bolshevik Ukrainization." A similar view was taken in 1934 by Postishev, the assistant secretary of the Central Committee and the official most actively engaged in hunting down the Ukrainian nationalists.[71]

According to the latest available material, the Ukrainization of education has kept pace with the expansion of general education, and a greater proportion of pupils were studying in Ukrainian schools in 1937 than in 1927. By 1937 the general schools embraced 5,364,800 children as compared with 1,678,100 in 1913 — an increase of 319 percent over the pre-War year; and whereas twenty-two of every thousand people attended elementary school in the Kiev Educational District in 1912, in 1937 the figure for all of the Ukraine had risen to

[66] *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1933. [67] *Visti*, May 1, 1933. [68] *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1933.
[69] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1934 (speech of Zatonski); Aug. 22, 1934, Jan. 5, 1935.
[70] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1933. [71] *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1934.

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871 one hundred seventeen of every thousand people.[72] The middle schools
162 had expanded greatly by 1937; the fifth to tenth grades embraced
212 1,927,100 pupils in 1937 as compared with 347,900 pupils in 1928, an increase of 554 percent in ten years.[73]

871 While the school system was expanding quantitatively, the number
191 of children studying in Ukrainian schools was also increasing. During the school year 1935–36, the year that marked the end of the campaign to check over-Ukrainization, 83.0 percent of the pupils in the general schools were studying in the Ukrainian language. This percentage coincides roughly with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. It also represents a higher percentage of pupils in Ukrainian schools than attended such schools in 1927, a fact which resulted from the expansion of middle schools in the rural areas and from the decline in the number of children attending schools in some of the other languages. During the school year 1935–36, 12.7 percent of all the pupils in the general schools studied in Russian, 1.4 percent in Jewish, 1.3 percent in German, 0.5 percent in Moldavian and 0.5 percent in Polish schools.[74] In absolute numbers, there had been an increase between 1927 and 1935–36 in the pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Greek languages; there had been a decline in the number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Swedish and Assyrian languages; and schools had been established for Uzbeks, Belorussians, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Turkomens and Latvians.[75]

874 With regard to the technical and higher educational institutions, the author has no figures on the number of students in the Ukrainized

[73] The figure for the number of pupils in 1937 is taken from *Socialističeskoe Stroitelstvo Sojuza S.S.S.R., 1933–1938* gg. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), p. 163.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[74] *Socialistična Ukraina. Statistični Zbirnik* (Kiev, 1937), p. 222.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 222. *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 20–26. A comparison of absolute figures for 1927 and 1935–36 must take into account that the statistics for 1927 gave the total number of pupils in mixed schools but not the number studying in various languages used in these schools. The number of pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Czech languages in 1935–36 was greater than the number studying in their own schools in 1927 plus the total number in mixed schools using these languages for some classes. The conclusion that there was a decline in the total number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Assyrian and Swedish languages is arrived at by considering roughly the number of pupils in mixed schools studying in these languages. For example, in 1927 there were 68,836 pupils in Jewish schools; in 1935–36 there were 69,211 pupils studying in the Jewish language; hence, there were 375 more pupils *studying in Jewish* in 1935–36 than had been *attending Jewish schools* in 1927. But in 1927 there were 11,603 pupils in mixed schools using Jewish and either Russian or Ukrainian; in all probability there were more than 375 pupils in these schools who were being taught in Jewish; and by 1935–36 the surplus above 375 had been lost to Jewish classes, indicating a decline in the total number studying in Jewish.

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schools for the years after 1927; and one might conclude from the lack of such figures in the important statistical collections that Ukrainization has ceased or has been reversed. However, this conclusion would not be consistent with the continued stress on the preparation of "Ukrainian cadres," which was the primary purpose of Ukrainizing these institutions. The need for Ukrainian engineers, agronomists, writers and scientific workers was emphasized both by Kossior and by the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1937.[76] Kossior, moreover, stated that there had been a large increase in the number of Ukrainian professors, instructors, scientific workers and candidates for higher degrees. Finally, the number of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technical and higher schools had grown absolutely and relatively. Between 1927 and 1936 the total number of students in the technicums had increased from 29,300 to 133,300; in the workers' faculties, from 7,400 to 53,500; and in the institutes from 28,200 to 108,200.[77] The increase for the technicums was 455 percent, for the workers' faculties 722 percent and for the institutes 384 percent. In the meanwhile, the proportion of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technicums had risen from 58.0 to 75.3 percent; in the workers' faculties from 57.9 to 65.0 percent; and in the institutes from 48.8 to 53.7 percent.[78] The number of students from among the minorities had increased absolutely but had fallen relatively. Since the increasing proportion of the students were Ukrainians (probably chiefly graduates of Ukrainian general schools and therefore favorable to and easily adaptable to courses conducted in Ukrainian), and since the number of Ukrainian faculty members had risen, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the process of Ukrainizing the technical and higher institutions had continued even after the intensive campaign against the nationalists was undertaken in 1933.

As for the obligatory study of the Ukrainian language in the schools of the other nationalities — provided for in laws of 1920 and 1927[79] — no change has taken place. An order of the Commissariat of Education, issued in December 1940 and just received by the author, clearly indicates this fact. The order is designed to facilitate the study of Ukrainian by children who have come from other republics and, having entered non-Ukrainian schools, are handicapped in the study of

[76] *Visti*, May 30, 1937; June 6, 1937. [77] *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 133.

[78] The percentages for 1927 are taken from *Desjati Z'izd Kommunističnoi Partii (Bil'shovikiv) Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48–52. The percentages for 1936 are from *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 152.

[79] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1920, part 1, sec. 509, p. 713; 1927, part 1, sec. 157, p. 626.

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this subject.[80] Declaring that the mastering of Ukrainian is obligatory for these children as well as for all other pupils in non-Ukrainian schools, the order states that the younger ones shall be sent to lower grades to study Ukrainian; the older ones may continue along with their classmates, and are to be marked leniently in this subject; and all are to be given special assistance in their study of Ukrainian so that by the time they graduate they may be able to fulffill the requirements demanded of the other pupils. Hence, the campaign against nationalism has not altered this aspect of the Ukrainization policy.

Perhaps the most significant result of the campaign against the Ukrainian nationalists was the effort to point up the importance of the Russian language and the value of Russian culture for the Soviet Union's minorities. One aspect of this effort was the greater emphasis placed on the study of the Russian language in the non-Russian schools of the Ukraine. A thorough mastering of Russian, regarded as a "second" and not as a "foreign language," had long been intended by the Party leaders, and had been provided for in the legislation on education. The important law on the Ukrainization of education in 1923 stated that "because the Russian language has all-governmental and all-Union significance and because it joins the Ukrainian people to the culture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the study of Russian as an obligatory subject was to be retained in all Ukrainian schools.[81] In the schools of the non-Ukrainian minorities in the Ukraine, either Ukrainian or Russian was to be selected by the population as a subject for obligatory study. The basic statute on education issued in 1927 went still further: both the Ukrainian and the Russian languages were to be taught as obligatory subjects in *all* schools.[82] In explaining the purpose of this clause, Skripnik stated that "now — since the proletarian revolution — the Russian language, once a language of oppression, is the language in which are written the works of Lenin; now the Ukrainians regard it as a brotherly language containing great revolutionary compositions; and in order that after leaving school the Ukrainians may be able to make use of Russian culture, the Russian language is taught as an obligatory subject."[83] This statement, coming from the Commissar of Education, was of considerable importance; but it was later revealed that interest in the Russian language had been lost in the whirl of Ukrainization.

[80] *Zbirnik Nakaziv ta Rosporiadžen Narodnogo Komisariaty Osviti Ukrainskoi R.S.R.*, 1940, sec. 355, p. 14. [81] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, p. 900.
[82] *Ibid.*, 1927, part 1, sec. 157, p. 626. [83] *Proletarska Pravda*, May 9, 1926.

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In 1933 Zatonski censured the nationalists in the Commissariat of Education for neglecting the teaching of Russian which, because it was the means of all-Union communication, "should be taught in all the Ukrainian schools and in the schools of other nationalities."[84] But the real interest in the teaching of Russian appeared in 1937 and 1938, when the Commissariat was again over-hauled. During these years there was another intensified drive against Ukrainian nationalism, as well as against other varieties of opposition to the Party's policies and against every manifestation of inefficiency. Even Zatonskii was removed from his post. And while the renewed attack on nationalism in general was proceeding, a large amount of criticism was directed against the Commissariat of Education for its neglect of the Russian language as a subject of study. The critics — one of whom was E. N. Postnikova, a teacher and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. — stated that because of "the wrecking activities of the bourgeois nationalists," there was a higher percentage of failures in the courses on Russian language and literature than in any other subject.[85] In the first place, not enough time was being allotted to the study of Russian. Secondly, there was a dearth of text-books and of Russian literature in the school libraries: even such works as Gorki's *Mother*, Tolstoi's *War and Peace*, Goncharov's *Oblomov* and the collected works of Lenin were to be found only in Ukrainian translations. Thirdly, the Commissariat had not devoted sufficient attention to methods of teaching Russian and had failed to provide methodological programs for the guidance of teachers. Finally, the knowledge of Russian possessed by the teachers themselves was entirely inadequate; even the graduates of the pedagogical institutes did not know the language well enough to teach it. Since, the critics argued, the pupils themselves were strongly inclined to study Russian, the Commissariat should provide more thorough preparation of teachers, assign more time for this subject, provide more text-books and more Russian literature.

As a result of these criticisms the re-organized Commissariat provided new programs, several of which are in the hands of the author, and it increased the time allotted to the study of Russian. The number of hours specified for the study of languages during the entire period of attendance in the various types of schools, according to the

[84] *Visti*, Aug. 23, 1933.

[85] *Za Kommunističeskoe Prosveščenie* (organ of the commissariats of education of the union republics), May 16, 1937; *Učitelskaia Gazeta* (organ of the commissariats of education of the union republics), Feb. 27, 1938, Mar. 19, 1938, Mar. 29, 1938.

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teaching plans for the school year 1939–40, is contained in the following table:[86]

I. Schools with Ukrainian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Ukrainian Language	1130 hours	1187 hours
Russian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Ukrainian Language	2068 hours	1994 hours
Russian Language	1131 hours	1221 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

II. Schools with Russian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Russian Language	1130 hours	1147 hours
Ukrainian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Russian Language	2150 hours	2111 hours
Ukrainian Language	955 hours	1022 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

III. Schools with Jewish or Moldavian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Jewish or Moldavian Language	993 hours	989 hours
Ukrainian Language	196 hours	252 hours
Russian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Jewish or Moldavian Language	1383 hours	1350 hours
Ukrainian Language	586 hours	618 hours
Russian Language	1131 hours	1221 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

[86] Narodni Kommissariat Osvita U.R.S.R., *Navčalni plani. počatkovoi ta serednoi školi* (Kiev, 1939) pp. 8–9, 11, 13, 15–17, 19, 21, 23. It may be noted that the plan for the rural elementary schools contained 36 more hours and for the rural middle schools 54 more hours than was assigned to the corresponding urban schools.

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In 1937 only 240 hours were allotted to the study of Russian in the Ukrainian elementary schools,[87] but by 1939–40 the time devoted to this language had increased to 390 hours in the urban type and 429 hours in the rural type of elementary school. The most important change, however, occurred in the middle schools, the form of general school gradually replacing the elementary schools. In the middle schools, as the table indicates, a larger proportion of hours for language study are assigned to Russian than in the elementary schools. The table also reveals that the study of Russian in the Ukrainian middle schools is given more time than the study of Ukrainian in the Russian middle schools. As for the schools of the smaller minorities, illustrated by the plan for the Jewish and Moldavian schools, Russian assumes greater importance than Ukrainian; and in the middle schools of these nationalities, the study of Ukrainian has a position far below Russian and only a little higher than that of foreign languages. The pupils of the smaller nationalities would encounter Ukrainian in their extra-school life more frequently than Russian, except in the large cities where Russian is still widely used in social intercourse; and if they were to know Ukrainian and Russian equally well, more time would have to be assigned to the latter. Likewise, the Russian pupils, except in the large cities, would be more familiar with Ukrainian than the Ukrainian pupils with Russian. Because the village children would hear Russian spoken less often than the city children the rural schools have more time allotted to Russian than do the urban schools. The study of foreign languages has become increasingly important since 1932; and only last November the Commissariat of Education decided that in some middle schools the study of French, English or German should begin in the third rather than the fifth grade, thereby raising the time devoted to foreign languages from 446 hours to 602 hours.[88]

Educational work among the older generation follows the direction of that among the children in the schools. A campaign to teach adults to read and write their mother tongues has met with substantial results, and the newly literate non-Russians are being encouraged to go on and study Russian as well as their native languages. This fostering of bi-lingualism is accompanied by an attempt on the part of the government to make the population in the Ukraine multi-cultured. Increased attention is being given to popularizing the literature and music of the Russians and of other nationalities both with and without the Soviet Union; and the Russian cinema and radio are —

[87] *Za Kommunističeskoe Prosveščenie*, May 14, 1937.
[88] *Zbirnik Nakaziv . . .* , 1940, sec. 336, pp. 8–9.

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in spite of efforts to produce films and to broadcast programs in the Ukrainian language — potent forces for assimilation to Russian culture. To the goal of assimilation, moreover, much is contributed by the industrialization of the Ukraine: new factories bring rural Ukrainians into the cities where Russian still predominates in social life, and the younger Ukrainians in the city easily adopt the prevailing language. But these forces for assimilation, even though coupled with the inculcation of communist doctrines through the media of education and culture, may be cancelled by a growth of nationalism; and such nationalism may thrive on the shocks of economic disorders and unsuccessful foreign war. The language policy itself promotes the process of assimilation by encouraging bi-lingualism; but by stressing the use of minority languages, it furthers at least a greater temporary diversification. The question of whether the forces of unity are now stronger or weaker than the forces of division can be answered only by the future.

WASHINGTON, D. C.